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THE PIVOTAL QUESTION.

Said Joe to Sam, in fierce debate
Upon the woman question:
"You've answered well all other points,
Now here's my last suggestion:

"When woman goes to cast her vote— Some miles away, it may be— Who then, I ask, will stay at home To rock and tend the baby?"

Said Sam, "I own you've made my case Appear a little breezy. Suppose you put this question by, And ask me something easy!

"But, since the matter seems to turn
On this as on its axis,
Just get the one who rocked it when
She went to pay her taxes!"

PROGRESS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

few except those who have made a special study of the question realize how fast the equal suffrage movement is gaining. On this point, let the "hard facts" speak for themselves:

Seventy years ago women could not vote anywhere. In 1838, Kentucky gave school suffrage to widows. In 1850, Ontario gave it to women both married and single. In 1861, Kansas gave it to all women. In 1867, New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869, England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows, Victoria gave it to women both married and single, and Wyoming gave full suffrage to all women.

In 1871, West Australia gave municipal suffrage to women. School suffrage was granted in 1875 by Michigan and Minnesota, in 1876 by Colorado, in 1877 by New Zealand, in 1878 by New Hampshire and Oregon, in 1879 by Massachusetts, in 1880 by New York and Vermont. In 1880, South Australia gave municipal suffrage to women.

In 1881, municipal suffrage was extended to the single women and widows of Scotland. Nebraska gave women school suffrage in 1883, Ontario and Tasmania gave them municipal suffrage in 1884, and Wisconsin gave them school suffrage in 1885. In 1886, municipal suffrage was given in New Zealand and New Brunswick.

In 1887, municipal suffrage was granted in Kansas, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba, and school suffrage in North and South Dakota, Montana, Arizona, and New Jersey. In the same year, Montana gave taxpaying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the tax-payers.

In 1888, England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia and the

Northwest Territory gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889, county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. In 1891, school suffrage was granted in Illinois. In 1893, school suffrage was granted in Connecticut, and full suffrage in Colorado and New Zealand. In 1894, school suffrage was granted in Ohio, a limited municipal suffrage in Iowa, and parish and district suffrage in England to women both married and single. In 1895, full suffrage was granted in South Australia to women both married and single. In 1896, full suffrage was granted in Utah and Idaho.

In 1898, the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all officers except members of Parliament; Minnesota gave women the right to vote for library trustees; Delaware gave tax-paying women school suffrage; France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce, and Louisiana gave tax-paying women the right to vote upon all questions submitted to the tax-payers. In 1900, West Australia granted full Parliamentary suffrage to women both married and single.

In 1901, New York gave tax-paying women in all the towns and villages of the State the right to vote on questions of local taxation. Norway gave them municipal suffrage, and the Kansas Legislature voted down almost unanimously, and "amid a ripple of amusement," a proposal to repeal municipal suffrage.

In 1902, the full national suffrage was granted to all the women of Federated Australia; and the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention has just voted in favor of an amendment giving full suffrage to women.

In looking over this record, notice how few and far between the gains were in the beginning, and how thick and fast the victories have come in recent years. Have not the friends of equal rights every reason to look forward to a Happy New Year?

WANTED, TWO WITNESSES.

In Wyoming, women have had the full ballot for thirty-four years. For the last fifteen years, the advocates of equal suffrage have had a standing challenge, inviting its opponents to find two respectable men in all Wyoming who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results whatever. The opponents have thus far failed to respond.

"The proof of the pudding is in the eating." The men who have had the longest experience of equal suffrage are the best pleased with it.

THE GREATEST VICTORY YET.

The Boston Herald, which is opposed to equal suffrage, says:

The triumph of the woman suffragists in the new National Parliameut of the Australian Commonwealth is their greatest achievement yet. It confers the right to vote for its members on all the women of Australia. There are 4,000 inhabitants

in this commonwealth, and this act enfranchises about 800,000 women. When those of New Zealand are added, who have been voting for nine years, and those of our own four States, a total is furnished of not less than a million and a quarter English-speaking women who are now exercising full political suffrage.

ROOSEVELT AND LINCOLN.

Theodore Roosevelt is the first president of the United States since Abraham Lincoln who had expressed himself publicly in favor of woman suffrage before attaining the presidency. Cleveland proved himself favorable to it by actions rather than words, as he signed bills giving women partial suffrage in New York when he was Governor of that State. Hayes favored it in his quiet way, and helped to get a woman's rights resolution through the National Republican Convention of 1872. Garfield recognized its growing importance. He said: "Laugh as we may, put it aside as a jest if we will, keep it out of Congress or political campaigns, still the woman question is rising on our horizon larger than the size of a man's hand; and some solution, ere long, that question must find."

Mrs. McKinley presented a handsome doll to the National Suffrage Bazar not long before her husband's assassination, and Ohio suffragists, in their resolutions of regret for President McKinley's death, spoke of him as a sympathizer with the cause. Some other presidents were believed to be more or less friendly to it, but Roosevelt and Lincoln have been the only ones to put themselves conspicuously on record.

LINCOLN THE PIONEER SUFFRAGIST.

Abraham Lincoln was the pioneer advocate of woman's ballot among the public men of America. Twelve years before the first equal rights convention was held, in a letter to the electors of Sangamon County, dated June 13, 1836, and printed in the Sagamon County Journal, published at New Salem, Ill., Lincoln wrote:

"I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females.

ROOSEVELT FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Theodore Roosevelt voted for woman suffrage in the New York Legislature, and recommended it in his inaugural message after he became Governor. He was the first Governor of New York to take such a step, and it made a great stir. The reporters flocked around him to ask his reasons for believing in equal suffrage. As reported in the papers, Mr. Roosevelt gave them two reasons. He said his home town of Oyster Bay had long been badly in need of a new schoolhouse, but had never been able to get the necessary appropriation until the women were given a vote. Then the mothers of the children voted the new schoolhouse at once. His second reason was that many women had

a very hard time, working women especially; and that if the ballot would help them, even a little, he was willing to see it tried.

Later, Mr. Roosevelt attended the Minnesota State Fair. The Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association had a booth there, with a book in which their sympathizers were invited to inscribe their names. The president wrote his name in their book, and took occasion to remind the ladies in charge that he bad been the first Governor of New York to recommend equal suffrage in his message.

When the International Suffrage Convention met in Washington last February, President Roosevelt gave a special audience to the foreign delegates, and expressed himself most cordially. To Miss Vida Goldstein of Australia, who told him that full national suffrage was about to be granted to women throughout Federated Australia, he said that it would be "a great object lesson." This has now come to pass.

HON. T. B. REED ON SUFFRAGE.

Thirty years ago hardly any political assemblage of the people was graced by the presence of women. Had it needed a law to enable them to be present, what an argument could have been made against it! How easily it could have been shown that the coarseness, the dubious expressions, the general vulgarity of the scene. could have no other effect than to break down that purity of word and thought which women have, and which conservative and radical are alike sedulous to preserve! And yet the actual presence of women at political meetings has not debased them, but has raised the other sex. Coarseness has not become diffused through both sexes, but has fled from both. To put the whole matter in a short phrase: The association of the sexes in the family circle, in society, and in business having improved both, there is neither history, reason nor sense to justify the assertion that association in politics will lower the one or demoralize the other .- Hon. Thomas B. Reed.

VICTORIES AT THE EAST.

It has been the custom of Eastern opponents to represent equal suffrage as an idea that flourishes only in the far West. But the two latest victories in the United States have been at the East. Recently the New York Legislature, by a heavy majority of both Houses, gave taxpaying women in all the towns and villages throughout the State the right to vote on questions of taxation; and the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention has just voted in favor of an amendment granting the full ballot to women.

In Toledo, O., the Board of Aldermen has made a rule that henceforward women shall be debarred from employment as clerks or stenographers in the service of the city. The places are wanted for voters. Yet it is still asserted that the lack of a ballot is no disadvantage to women.

LLINOIS MAYORS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

"That the movement to confer upon women who pay taxes the right to vote for tax officials and upon tax matters is winning strong public support is strikingly shown by the tenor of communications recently received by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association from more than a score of the mayors of leading cities of Illinois," says the Chicago Record-Herald. "These officials, who are, of course, leaders in their respective communities, are unanimous in their indorsement of the bill to be presented to the Legislature at the coming session embodying the proposed reform. Not a few of the mayors go even further, and express the conviction that women are justly entitled to the unrestricted right to vote on all public questions. It is the opinion of the officers of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association that the liberal views of the mayors on the suffrage question are due in no small measure to the educational effect of the volunteer work done by women's civic organizations in promoting public improvements, such as tree planting, school-decoration, and increased cleanliness in the various cities of the State."

The replies received by the Association are as follows:

John R. Davis, mayor of Jacksonville— The workers for woman suffrage shall have my hearty coöperation. No man can justly say that tax-paying women should not have the right to vote on all questions of taxation which are submitted to voters, and for tax officials. The righteousness of such a measure is a self-evident proposition. People who do not believe in equal suffrage for all women admit the justice of the principle that those citizens whose property is taxed to support the government should have a voice in the levy and expenditure of taxes.

William A. Sawyer, mayor of Monmouth—In my opinion there is no question but that the tax-paying women of the country should be allowed to vote on questions of taxation.

F. Finer, mayor of Waukegan—I am in favor of property owners, whether male or female, having a vote for all officers that have to do with the expenditure of taxes. Non-taxpayers ought not to vote on questions affecting the expenditure of public money. It is easy to get a vote from a non-taxpayer, and he cares not how uselessly the money is squandered. I wish the woman suffrage movement success.

John A. Glover, mayor of Urbana—Women should be allowed the privileges of the ballot under the same restrictions which govern men. It is certain that women of affairs and intelligence are more worthy of this privilege than many of the other sex who are now exercising the right

right.
Robert Rohl, mayor of Centralia—I heartily favor the tax-paying women of Illinois being permitted to vote on all tax matters and to take part and aid in questions of sanitation, lighting, etc., for the betterment of our cities.

J. L. Phillips, mayor of Springfield—I think these objects most worthy, and trust that the effort for the desired legislation may prove successful.

Theodore Dill, mayor of Roodhouse—I approve the plan outlined by the tax-paying women of Illinois, to secure from the Legislature the right of suffrage. I am opposed to taxation without representation.

C. F. Shilling, mayor of Decatur-If the

women of Illinois were allowed to vote on all questions for the improvement of our cities, and they should take an interest in the same, it would be of great benefit.

Charles Oldendorf, mayor of Mount Carmel—I favor tax-paying women being given the right to vote on all matters relating to taxation, as well as for tax officials.

W. J. King, mayor of Litchfield—I always favor equal rights, when taxed, either sex. I am heartily in favor of women voting on the measures mentioned.

William R. Bradley, mayor of Galesburg—I believe every taxpayer, regardless of sex, should be allowed to vote on all tax matters submitted to a vote of the people.

J. S. Peironnet, mayor of Wheaton—I much favor women voting on nearly all questions, and particularly on school and municipal affairs.

A. M. Legy, mayor of Pontiac—I favor giving the tax-paying women of Illinois the right to vote on all tax matters submitted to a vote of the people, and for tax officials.

W. H. Griffith, mayor of Savanna-I think all persons who pay taxes, if they are citizens, should be entitled to vote.

D. W. Lewis, mayor of Canton—When women are given the elective franchise, then, and then only, will we be able to hold in check many evils we now endure. It is a reflection on our Twentieth Century civilization to prohibit the women from voting, and yet court the favor of the old world's ignorance which may happen to have the legal right to vote.

W. F. Bryan, mayor of Peoria—I have always thought it unjust that women who pay taxes should have no vote on questions involving assessment of property or taxation, and I heartily approve any measure that will give them that privilege.

Jefferson Orr, mayor of Pittsfield—I heartily approve of the contemplated effort to secure woman's right to vote, and would gladly aid in any way possible. I believe that the disfranchisement of woman is the result of man's want of attention. Our government needs the power and influence of the ballot in woman's hands.

J. E. Miller, mayor of Lincoln—I am heartily in favor of bestowing the franchise in relation to taxation on women who are property owners, as I am opposed to anything like taxation without representation.

R. W. Ramsey, mayor of Charleston—I am in hearty sympathy with any movement that will secure for our mothers, wives and daughters a larger use of the ballot, and have but little patience with those who contend that woman's sphere shall be forever limited to the household. I am perfectly willing to trust our women's intelligence, honesty and patriotism in the larger affairs of life.

W. B. Hall, mayor of Duquoin—I would be glad to assist in the furtherance of this undertaking. I fully believe that such a law would bring about what the association of ladies desires. If we could also have women park commissioners, we would have clean streets and beautiful parks and lawns.

Charles J. Mullikin, mayor of Champaign—I am heartily in accord with the idea of women being allowed to vote on all matters. In fact, I believe the country would be better off morally and financially if the women were allowed equal suffrage

with men. I think it would have the effect of keeping boodlers and bad men out of office.

E. S. Browne, mayor of Mendota—Our conceited belief in men's ability is being shaken by many failures. The more I see of men's blunders, the more I think women cannot do worse.

Charles B. Fry, mayor of Mattoon—A property qualification should be required to permit any person to cast a vote for the expenditure of public moneys for public utilities; and, feeling so, I certainly believe that the tax-paying women of Illinois and elsewhere have a greater right to a voice in the question of the issue of bonds for the construction of a public building, or a system of sewerage, for instance, than have the male "larrikins" who sell their votes upon the question for a dollar and a half. This movement receives my unqualified indorsement.

Maurice T. Moloney, mayor of Ottawa, and former Attorney-General of Illinois—I know of no reason why women should not vote in this State, not alone where they are taxpayers, but as freely and fully as men do now. I do not sympathize with the pretended fear that it would be dragging woman from her true position into the arena of politics and entirely ruin her womanly instincts. If I can be of any assistance to the woman suffragists of this State, I shall be glad to do anything in my power for them.

George W. Alschuler, mayor of Aurora—Relative to women voting on matters where taxable property is involved, I will say that as a general proposition I am not in favor of woman suffrage, but do feel that they should have some voice where their taxable interests are involved.

MRS. LIVERMORE'S BIRTHDAY.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore's 82d birthday on Dec. 19 was celebrated by a surprise party at her pleasant home in Melrose, Mass.

Mrs. Livermore rose at 7.30, and breakfasted in her room. The morning was spent in reading letters and telegrams of congratulation. Just before noon she was surprised by the arrival of the Wintergreen Club of Boston, including Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Julia K. Dyer, Mrs. Ada S. Spaulding, Mrs. Julia Houston West, Mrs. Electa N. L. Walton, Mrs. Fanny B. Pratt, Mrs. Elizabeth A. Bangs, Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson, Miss Charlotte Hawes, Mrs. Maria A. Bray, the Rev. Ada C. Bowles, Mrs. J. Sewell Reed, and Mrs. Caroline T. Dupee.

After greetings had been exchanged, the guests were invited to the diningroom. Mrs. Livermore had not known that they were coming, but her private secretary, Miss Adelaide Witherington, had been informed of it, and a bountiful repast was ready. The room was artistically decorated with holly, interspersed with roses and pinks.

Between the courses, Mrs. Livermore drew from a huge red stocking, suspended from the chandelier, presents brought by all the members of the Wintergreen Club. As each bundle was opened, the giver read an appropriate verse, which created much fun.

After dinner, Mrs. J. Sewell Reed read the following poem, written for the occasion by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell:

What can I say on this bright day
To fit the celebration
Of her whose name and worth and fame
Are prized throughout our nation?

Long has she stood for causes good,
A valiant standard-bearer,
A spring of power, a rock, a tower—
To what shall I compare her?

Most like is she a broad-armed tree, In hearts of millions rooted, Its cooling shade o'er myriads laid, And every twig deep fruited;

Or prairie wide, flushed with a tide Of miles of flowers in blossom; Or sunny sea, that cradles free Great navies on its bosom.

Against the Wrong, what lightnings strong
Leap forth, her dark brows under,
And what a voice bids Right rejoice
In tones of mellow thunder!
The heart that hears melts into tears.

And in good actions flowers.

Beneath those flashes, Wrong sinks to ashes,
And Evil shrinks and cowers.

The boys in blue her deep heart knew;
The wounded and the dying
Have blessed her care, her kindness rare,
When shot and shell were flying.

The veterans gray bless her to-day
With lips that tremble, parting;
Her honored name they scarce can frame
Without the teardrops starting.

Her life flows on through shade and sun, An ever-widening river, Which, like the Nile, brings Plenty's smile, A grand and bounteous giver.

In homes obscure, the sick and poor Uplift her name to heaven; Their prayer outweighs the lavish praise By press and rostrum given.

Her kindly deeds to various needs
Respond for every comer.
Countless are they as raindrops gray
That cheer the flowers in summer.

Why do I speak, who should be meek When abler poets sing you? For your rich bower one little flower My grateful heart would bring you—

One little leaf add to the sheaf
Of your abundant laurels.
Through all the fights for equal rights,
The carping and the quarrels

With "Antis" blind, of narrow mind— We've always found you standing By the good cause of equal laws, Strong, sturdy, and commanding.

The standard bright of equal right My mother dropped in dying; You raised that flag, nor let it drag, But kept it bravely flying.

O helper strong, stay with us long! For, when you have departed, Who will be left a world bereft So big and generous-hearted?

From this time until the guests departed, each with a Mary A. Livermore souvenir plate under her arm, it was a scene of gayety and pleasure. Every member was called upon to make a speech, tell a story or sing a song, and each in turn heartily responded. Mrs. J. Houston West sang "Coming Thro" the Rye," and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe sang several selections, playing her own accompaniment. The guests took their leave after singing "Auld Lang Syne."

In the evening Mrs. Livermore's children, grandchildren and other relatives gathered at her home for a general good time. Each one present contributed something toward the entertainment. The feature was the cutting of the large birthday cake, which was brilliantly illuminated with 82 candles.

Among those present were: Mr. and Mrs. John O. Norris, Miss Ethel Norris, Mr. John Norris, Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Pierce, Mr. and Mrs. M. D. Barrows, Mr. and Mrs. Ned Norris, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hill, Miss Sara Coffin, and Mr. W. C. Boynton.

Mrs. Livermore received many floral tributes from organizations with which she is connected, including a large and handsome holly wreath from the Massachusetts W. S. A., of which she has been president ever since the death of Mrs. Lucy Stone nine years ago. The Massachusetts W. C. T. U. sent a great bunch

of pinks, the Melrose W. C. T. U. a beautiful bouquet of roses, and there were many others.

Mrs. Livermore says in a private letter, written in her handsome characteristic chirography, as firm and clear to-day as it could have been in her youth:

"How kind you all are! The superb wreath from the Suffrage Association is hung in the most conspicuous place in the parlor, and challenges everybody's attention. The house is like a conservatory, and Addie has extemporized the cellar as a refrigerator, to keep the fragrant American Beauty roses and carnation pinks in good condition for Christmas.

"I have never been thoroughly surprised by anything occurring at my own house until now. I had not a suspicion of what was to happen. From first to last it was a surprise. Adelaide was so fortunate as to secure a woman caterer, a sensible woman, so that she was relieved from that care entirely; and the lunch was excellent.

"Well, what next? My family and friends render my prolonged stay here very pleasant, so that I do not realize that I am 'lagging superfluous on the stage.' And yet—is it strange?--I would rather go. How glad my husband will be to see

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER ON IDAHO WOMEN

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster made a canvas of Idaho before the recent elections. Mrs. Foster has always been a believer in woman suffrage, but she has returned to her home in Washington brimming with enthusiasm over the experiment in Idaho. In a private letter to Mrs. Ida H. Harper she says:

"The work of the women surpassed my expectations. The glow of surprise, the excitement of the novelty, have somewhat passed. The women who wanted the ballot have settled down to make the most of it, and those who dreaded it have recovered from their fear and accepted the trust with good grace. The women had their own committees for registration as well as for election day, and they were thorough, patient and intelligent.

"Not only have they done good, but they have received good. They are better women, better wives and mothers, better neighbors and friends. One of them said to me: 'I did not want to vote, but when I found myself with the ballot I did not dare shirk the responsibility. I know I have helped a great many women to understand their duty, and I know I am a stronger woman for it. I used to think only of myself, my husband, my children, my house, my servants, my club, now every individual possesses an interest for me. I am far less selfish than I was.'

"This last campaign opened up the whole question to me more fully than ever before. The women of Idaho are calm, well poised and strong. The whole social atmosphere is clear and bracing. I feel like dropping everything else and giving my whole time to getting the suffrage for other women."

ELISE SANDES. THE SOLDIERS' FRIEND.

Now that the army canteen is again under warm discussion, it is of especial interest to learn what one woman in Ireland has done to counteract the attractions of the canteen by providing something better. The facts are set forth in the Outlook by W. B. Kavanagh:

About thirty years ago, Elise Sandes, a

young, delicate, tenderly - reared Irish gentlewoman, became impressed with the loneliness of the small English garrison in the Irish city of Tralee, a few miles from her home; and finally the desire to do something to mitigate their exile, and keep them from the saloons which offered the only welcome and entertainment they could get, led her to invite them to her own home. It was a daring step to take in those days, for the soldier was held in the very lowest repute by all classes of society. The English garrisons in Ireland never have had the good-will of the townspeople, who invariably regard the redcoats as the ever-present reminder of a government which they hate; consequently, in many ways, soldiering in Ireland is as bad as foreign service to the average Tommy Atkins.

Theaters, public libraries, art galleries, or any other form of amusement, recreation, or means of culture, are still unknown to the great majority of Irish cities and towns, so that nothing remains for the soldier but to secure what relaxation he can either in the canteen or the vile resorts outside the barrack gate.

Miss Sandes placed her home, her time, her money, and her culture in competition with the Tralee whiskey man and the canteen steward, and to-day she is at the head of thirteen magnificent Homes in Ireland, and four in India; while thousands upon thousands of soldiers, sailors, and constabulary men rise up to call her blessed. There are Soldiers' Homes organized under other auspices in both England and Ireland, but, successful as they have been, they all more or less suffer from the taint of "institutionalism," and do not nearly approach the work of Miss Sandes either in principle or practice.

Tommy Atkins does not like to be patronized, and more than anything else on earth hates to be preached at by some "devil-dedging blue-light" or "sky pilot," as he terms the would-be missionary. But he does like to meet and talk with people who, whatever ultimate design they may have on his soul, are willing to meet and treat with him as a rational human being. Before Miss Sandes began her work in Ireland, and for that matter even to-day, in stations where there is not a Soldiers' Home, a stray pamphlet telling of the fate which awaits the damned, and thrown inside the barrack gates by some citizen brave enough to do the deed, is about the only interest society takes in the welfare of the soldier.

Kipling's Tommy says:

"You talk o' better food for us, an' schools, an' fires, an' all;
We'll wait for extry rations if you treat us
rational," etc., etc.

And again:

"We aren't no thin red 'eroes, nor we aren't no blackguards, too

But single men in barricks, most remarkable

Long before Kipling penned these lines Miss Sandes had realized the truth that lies beneath them, and her Homes are the material evidences of her convictions. The Home in the city of Cork was the first one to be built, so that a description of it will serve for an illustration of the work as a whole. It was built by voluntary subscriptions, over and above what Miss Sandes and her friends subscribed. The building contains elaborate baths and lavatories, and a comfortable café, in which the soldier may obtain the best of plain food at a little over cost price. The second floor is furnished and fitted in a style that may be termed a combination of the domestic sitting-room and a club

reception-room. It is large and roomy; comfortable chairs are plentiful; a long table containing books and papers occupies the center of the room; and, crowning feature of all, in the soldiers' estimation, are a fireplace and mantelpiece. Altogether it is a homelike room. Sitting round the fire, or at some of the little tables dotted here and there, may be found infantrymen belonging to the two infantry regiments of the garrison, cavalrymen, artillerymen, engineers, sailors, and marines "on pass" from Queenstown -all of them as completely at home as they would be in their own house. The three or four ladies (residents of the Home) who have been accepted by Miss Sandes as co-workers are interested here and there about the room. One perhaps is knitting or sewing, and at the same time entertaining a little group of soldiers or being entertained by them. Another is playing a piano accompaniment for some bandsman who has brought his violin for his own or his comrades' enjoyment; while yet another is engaged in translating a French or German phrase or sentence for the benefit of some bewildered warrior. Every now and then, as the door is opened to admit some new arrival, the sound of hearty singing is heard from a little room above. Soldiers who care to wander up there (they are never urged) will enjoy hearty singing, and hear a little talk from some one, resi. dent or visitor, pointing out the joy and satisfaction from the practice of a higher life. The addresses are always non-sectarian; but the China Inland Mission, the Sudan Mission, and the Church Missionary Society have gained some of their most valiant recruits from that little upper room. For the benefit of soldiers on "all-night pass," or travelling, or otherwise compelled or desiring to seek lodging outside of the barracks, the Home offers dormitories and cubicles; so that the cheap saloon lodging-house is frequently robbed of its victim. A marvellous feature of the undertaking is the influence of the beautiful appointments and the refined atmosphere of the house throughout. Coarse, sullen, vicious men, whose early life has been spent in the slums of a great city, yield to the charm of the Home, and become clean-living, gentlemanly men. The man who had previously been ignorant of the slightest courtesy or knowledge of the canons of politeness learns to subdue his voice, rise when a lady enters or leaves the room, and in a thousand and one little ways demonstrate that he is in the "school of the gentleman." After a taste of this sort of environment, the sanded, beerstained floor of the saloon begins to revolt him, and that which a cast-iron military discipline and an occasional temperance lecture from the Colonel could not accomplish, a homelike club and the society of gentlewomen has done most effectually.

The Soldiers' Homes in England are as complete and many-sided as the ones in Ireland. The work in India was first opened in 1895 by Miss A. K. Ashe, who, with the exception of Miss Schofield, is Miss Sandes's oldest lieutenant in point of service. Away out at lonely Rawul Pindi, at the very doors of Afghanistan, this intrepid woman went, so that she could organize a Home to fight the bazaar and the canteen. What her success has been, the letters which close this article will testify. In conclusion, experience has proved that discipline can only restrain, not convert; and occasionally, notwithstanding discipline, the soldier

runs amuck. Meanwhile the Homes are gaining the victory over both canteen and dance-hall.

Miss Sandes's success has been due to the fact that she has not expected the undertaking to be self-supporting; that she has been careful of the poise, balance, and social calibre of her assistants, each one of whom pays all her own expenses; and that, above all else, she has been abundantly blessed in her work.

Lord Wolsely, the Commander-in-Chief, wrote Miss Sandes:

I only wish I were a rich man, for, if I were, I would enable you to carry out your good work on a larger scale.

Lord Roberts wrote:

Your Homes are of the greatest assistance to the soldier, as enabling him to spend his leisure evenings in rational, agreeable recreation, far removed from the temptations which usually assail him when seeking relaxation and amusement.

In 1898 the Commander-in-Chief in India wrote:

The Homes are really what they pro-fess to be, and they shall always have my most cordial support. Quite apart from the question of religion or morals, these Homes do a very great deal to keep men healthy and efficient. Soldiers resort to them as places where they can get good refreshments and cheerful society, and where they can talk, smoke, or write letters amid pleasant surroundings. Numbers of men are kept from drink and vice and disease by these admirable Homes.

GEORGIA CHILD LABOR BILL FAILS.

In spite of the efforts of thousands of Georgia women, the Georgia Legislature has adjourned without taking any action to restrict child labor. Thousands of tiny children will continue to be worked day and night in the cotton mills, to the ruin of their health, and often the sacrifice of their lives. Regard for supposed material interests has proved stronger than regard for the welfare of the chil-

The failure of the bill is deeply to be regretted, for the sake of the poor little victims; but indirectly it may do good in opening women's eyes to the need of equal suffrage. The last time that the Georgia Legislature defeated the childlabor bill, with several other bills that the women wanted, a prominent Georgia lady said, "The Legislature is behaving just as if it were in league with the Equal Suffrage Association!" This year the objectlesson has been repeated; and, as the sympathy of women all over the United States has been aroused by the appeals of Southern women in behalf of these overworked children, the lesson will have an effect far beyond the boundaries of

Facts lately brought to light in Pennsylvania, Illinois and elsewhere show the need of more efficient child labor legislation in many different parts of the coun-

Conditions are improving, but how slowly, and with how much needless difficulty! In legislation, material interests will always tend to outweigh the interests of humanity, so long as the more gentle and humane half of the race is debarred from a voice in choosing our law-makers. If the thousands of Georgia women who want child labor abolished had represented thousands of votes, does any one suppose that the Legislature would have proved deaf to their prayer?

In Colorado, where women vote, child labor is forbidden up to the age of four-

SOME RESULTS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

The "New York Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women," in its recently published annual report, says: "Those who carefully study the phases of woman suffrage see that the result in States where women have the franchise is futile."

The most important results of the franchise are largely intangible. They are found in the broadening of women's minds, in their awakening to the importance of civic improvement, and in the raising of the standard of candidates, so that both parties feel obliged to nominate their best men in order to obtain the support of the women. But here are a few of the tangible and concrete results:

In Wyoming, equal suffrage has caused the passage of a law that men and women in the employ of the State (including teachers) shall receive equal pay for equal work; has raised the age of protection for girls to eighteen, and has led to the repeal of the law that formerly licensed gambling. Child labor is fo bidden, and cruelty to children is severely punished.

In Idaho, equal suffrage has caused the passage of bills abolishing licensed gambling, raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen, authorizing city councils to levy a one-mill tax for free reading-rooms and libraries, requiring three per cent. of all school moneys to be set aside for the founding of school libraries, and establishing a State Library Commission, two members of which must be women, and two others the President of the State University and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In Utan, equal suffrage has caused the passage of a law that female teachers in the public schools shall receive the same pay as male teachers, provided they hold certificates of the same grade; also bills raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen, doubling the number of free scholarships in the State Normal School, establishing an art institute, and providing for improved sanitary arrangements in the schools, and for the better protection of the public health in various ways.

Colorado owes to her women the laws establishing a State Industrial School for Girls and a State Home for Dependent Children; removing the emblems from the Australian ballot (the nearest approach to an educational qualification for suffrage), making fathers and mothers joint guardians of their children, enlarging women's property rights, raising the age of protection for girls to eighteen, introducing the indeterminate sentence, so much desired by the friends of prison reform; establishing parental schools, providing for the care of the feeble-minded, and for the preservation of forest trees; giving the board of charities and correction power to investigate private eleemosynary institutions, and providing an annual appropriation to buy books for the State library; also in Denver ordinances placing drinking fountains in the streets, forbidding expectoration in public places, and requiring smoke-consuming chimneys on all public and business buildings.

Among other results of equal suffrage is a much better enforcement of the laws forbidding the employment in factories of children under fourteen, requiring merchants to furnish their saleswomen with seats, regulating the sale of liquor and tobacco to minors, and others of the same

general character. Since equal suffrage was granted, the number of no-license towns in Colorado has been more than quadrupled.

And yet the "Antis" say the results have been "futile"! Evidently they have not made a "careful study" of the facts in the equal suffrage States.

A QUESTION OF EXPERIENCE.

Women now have the full ballot in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho, New Zealand, and Australia. They have municipal suffrage throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and many of the English colonies. In some of these places they have had it for a generation. All together, there are fully a million and a quarter of English-speaking women who now possess full suffrage.

In all these places put together, the opponents thus far have not found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that it has had any bad results. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that active Anti-Suffrage Associations in New York and Massachusetts have been for years diligently gathering all the adverse testimony they could find.

On the other hand, scores of the most highly esteemed men and women in the equal suffrage States testify that the results are good.

TURKEY AND AMERICA.

No one who listens to the reasons given by the superior class for the continuance of any system of subjection can fail to be impressed with the noble disinterestedness of mankind. Hence, when it is proposed to give the women of this country an opportunity to present their case to the various State Legislatures to demand equality of political rights, it is not surprising to find that the reasons on which the continuance of the inferiority of women is urged, are drawn almost entirely from a tender consideration of their own good. The anxiety felt lest they should thereby deteriorate would be an honor to. human nature, were it not an historical fact that the same sweet solicitude has been put up as a barrier against every progress which women have made since civilization began.

There is no doubt that if in Turkey or Algiers, countries where woman's sphere is most thoroughly confined to the home circle, it was proposed to admit them to social life, to remove the veil from their faces, and permit them to converse in open day with the friends of their husbands and brothers, the conservative and judicious Turk or Algerine of the period, if he could be brought to even consider such a horrible proposition, would point out that the sphere of women was to make home happy by those gentle insipidities which education would destroy; that by participation in conversation with men they would debase their natures, and men would thereby lose that ameliorating influence which still leaves them unfit to associate with women. He would point out that "nature" had determined that women should be secluded; that their sphere was to raise and educate the manchild, and that any change would be a violation of the Divine law, which, in the opinion of all conservative men, ordains the present but never the future.

Hence we would do better to approach

the question without trepidation. We can better leave the "sphere" of woman to the future. Words change nothing. Prejudices are none the less prejudices because we vaguely call them "nature," and prate about what nature has forbidden, when we only mean that the thing we are opposing has not been hitherto done. "Nature" forbade a steamship to cross the Atlantic the very moment it was crossing, and yet it arrived just the same. What the majority call "nature" has stood in the way of every progress of the past and present, and will stand in the way of all future progress. It is only another name for conservatism.

Every reason which in this country bestows the ballot upon man is equally applicable to the proposition to bestow the ballot upon woman.—Hon. T. B. Reed.

A GROWING CAUSE.

There are now five States in which a woman suffrage amendment has been twice submitted to the voters at intervals of some years. In every case the result has been more favorable the second time than the first.

It was submitted in Colorado in 1877 and defeated. It was submitted again in 1893 and carried

In Kansas, when submitted the first time, it received 9,100 votes. When submitted the second time, it received 95,302.

In the State of Washington, in 1889, the adverse majority was 19,386. In 1898, it dropped to 9,882.

In South Dakota, in 1890, woman suffrage was defeated by a majority of 23,610; in 1898, by a majority of only 3,285.

In Oregon, the vote on the suffrage amendment in 1884 stood 28,176 nays to 11,223 yeas. In 1900, it stood 28,298 nays to 26,265 yeas.

Steadily and surely the common sense of the world is coming around to the belief in equal rights for women.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER ON WOMEN'S DUTIES.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer contributed an interesting article about two years ago to a pamphlet entitled "Objections to Woman Suffrage Answered by College Women." Each woman answered some particular argument. Mrs. Palmer took up the objection that "women are already fully occupied with higher duties," and replied to it as follows:

"WOMEN ARE ALREADY OCCUPIED WITH HIGHER DUTIES."

What are the political duties? What are the higher duties?

How far does the one obstruct or assist the other?

The political duties are: Informing one's self on the state of the country, on policies at issue, on candidates for office, and going to the polls and depositing a bailot.

The so-called higher duties of a woman are the bearing and rearing of children and making a home for family and friends.

How much time must she spend on her political duties? If she belongs to the well-to-do class, and hires others to do her work, she has time for whatever interests her most—only let these interests be noble! If she does her own housework, she can take ten minutes to stop on her way to market and vote once or twice a year. She can find half an hour a day for the newspapers and other means of information. She can talk with family and

the question without trepidation. We can better leave the "sphere" of woman to the future. Words change nothing. Prejudices are none the less prejudices because we vaguely call them "nature," and prate about what nature has forbidden, when we only mean that the thing

The duties of motherhood and the m ing of a home are the most sacred we of women, and the dearest to them, every class. If casting an intelligent v would interfere with what only won can do - and what, failed in, undermi society and government-no one can qu tion which a woman must choose. Bu cannot be shown that there are any la number of women in this country w have not the necessary time to vote in ligently, and it can be argued that stu of the vital questions of our governm would make them better comrades their husbands and friends, better gui to their sons, and more interesting valuable members of society. Won of every class have more leisure th men, are less tied to hours of routi they have had more years of school tra ing than men, and in this country th average intelligence compares favoral as do their conscience and their loya with men's. All this makes simple combination of public and "high

The objections to the political won and the educated woman present so instructive analysis. Fifty years ago was seriously believed that knowing classics would ruin her morals, phile phy her religion, and mathematics health; in general, a college educat would take away her desire to be a g wife and mother. To protect a being frail, the colleges were carefully clo against her. Now, with the approva wise men, more girls than boys are p paring for college, and this in the pu interest. It may be found in politics in education, that the higher duties women will be assisted, not hindered, intelligent discipline in the lower.

> ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, Ex-President Wellesley

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